

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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## Vital Issues Raised By Work of NLRB

**Congressional Committee Considers Proposed Amendments to Labor Relations Act**

### PURPOSES OF LAW EXAMINED

**Designed to Protect Workers' Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively with Employers**

No piece of legislation enacted during the last few years has been the subject of wider debate and more bitter controversy than the National Labor Relations Act and the National Labor Relations Board which has the responsibility of carrying out its provisions. On the one hand, it has been criticized as dangerous meddling on the part of the government, as being unfair to the interests of employers. Labor itself is divided on the subject, for both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have voiced opposition to certain provisions of the act and to certain methods of the Board. In many quarters, however, it had been praised as a great charter of liberty for the American worker, and as the greatest single gain ever made by American labor.

### Many Issues Raised

The many issues raised by the Labor Act and the Labor Board will be aired during the present session of Congress, for there is a strong movement for amendments. A special committee of the House of Representatives has been investigating the activities of the Board during recent weeks, thus bringing the whole subject of labor relations into the forefront of public attention.

It is our purpose in this article to present the essential facts connected with the controversy over the National Labor Relations Act. In the interest of brevity and clearness, we shall use the question-and-answer form of presentation.

*What is the purpose of the so-called Wagner Act?*

To guarantee to workers the right to organize themselves into unions and to prevent employers from interfering with this right. It has long been agreed in America that workmen should be allowed to form unions if they cared to do so and that employers should "recognize" the unions; that is, an employer should bargain with representatives of the union about wages, hours, and other problems arising between employers and employees. Both political parties, Republican and Democratic, accept this principle, and practically all public men, including industrial leaders, give it their approval.

But while these general principles are widely accepted, many employers have adopted practices which make it difficult, if not impossible, for their employees to join unions (see page 6). Here is the reason Congress passed the Labor Act, to guarantee by law the right of workers to join unions of their own choice.

*How does the National Labor Relations Act seek to achieve this purpose?*

Mainly in two ways: (a) It prohibits employers from discharging workers for belonging to unions or for trying to organize them. Certain employers had been doing this. They did not say openly that they would not permit unions, but when an employee joined one, or became a leader among those who favored unions, he was discharged. (b) Employers may no longer

(Concluded on page 8)



THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

## Clear-Eyed Youth

There is no better way to honor the memory of Abraham Lincoln than to put into practice the principles for which he stood. Lincoln was a humane, magnanimous, tolerant man. He was broad in his sympathies and fair in his relations with other men, with races, and with nations.

It is appropriate, then, on the birthday of this great American, to call attention to an outstanding contribution to true Americanism which has been made by the students of the high school named in honor of the Great Emancipator—Lincoln High School of Portland, Oregon. We quote an editorial, "Clear-Eyed Youth," from the *Portland Oregonian*:

"Lincoln High School student body has elected as its president a native-born American. The only element in the election that distinguishes it from elections in other student bodies is that James Wong is the son of Chinese parents.

"It is an event that is properly found worthy of prominent recording in the news columns of this newspaper, and Richard Nokes wrote truly when he introduced his account with the statement that it was an expression of democracy that could have happened only in America and that it was especially appropriate that it should have happened in a school named for the Great Emancipator.

"There is nothing remarkable in that a youth of Chinese blood should have those mental and personal attainments that are an essential qualification of the president of a high school student body. The Chinese have a cultural history that is ages old. And we have come to observe that the orientals who attend our educational institutions are often youths to be reckoned with in the competition for scholastic honors.

"Here, too, is a youth who, without doubt, is as good an American and always will be as good an American as any of us in his devotion to the American form of government and in his love of native land. And, although the laws of his country deny to his parents the right of naturalization and of citizenship, James Wong, American born, is a citizen by constitutional right. He may vote when he reaches maturity, and there is nothing in the Constitution that would bar his election to the highest office in the land.

"One may well ponder at what age and for what reason racial prejudices that are revealed by some adults creep into the minds of Americans. In our grade schools children of all nationalities mingle with the utmost equality. At high school age, as it is here proved, the racial identity of one's forebears is no obstacle to companionable regard and student leadership. It is only in later years that barriers stand in the way of complete assimilation."

## War Brings Many Changes to Canada

**Normal Flow of Life Upset as Canadians Prepare for an Intensive Struggle**

### PARTIES DIFFER ON POLICY

**Whether Conservatives or Liberals Will Rule Is to Be Decided at Coming Elections**

Thoughtful Americans cannot fail to be interested in what is happening beyond our 3,000 miles of unfortified northern border, these days. Canada, our friendly neighbor, is at war, and the occasional glint of sunlight on the bayonet of a Canadian sentry just across the river from Detroit or Buffalo emphasizes the fact that the outer fringes of the European conflict have crept close to our own centers. It is not so much our \$4,000,000,000 invested in Canada, nor our annual billion-dollar trade with the Dominion that prompts particular interest in Canadian affairs at this time. It is the fact that in Canada, democratic institutions very similar to our own are undergoing the test of a modern war. Less than half a year has produced many changes in them. A brief survey of these changes may perhaps offer a clue to what we ourselves might experience if we were engaged in war today.

### Little Surface Change

To a casual tourist, Canada may seem on the surface to have changed little in the last year. In the country districts, in particular, where farmers still strap on their snowshoes to go hunting or trapping, life has been little disturbed by the war. Even the cities seem quite normal. Around Quebec and Montreal skiing and tobogganing are as popular as ever. There are more uniforms and Red Cross posters in evidence than formerly, but there is very little to be seen in the way of bands, demonstrations, or pep meetings. To perceive the changes, one must go deeper.

Last summer, on the eve of war, Canada's democratic system was functioning normally enough. There were disputes, to be sure. The annual budget, running close to \$400,000,000, was high for a country of only 11,000,000 people, even if they did occupy the largest single land area in the Western Hemisphere. And the national debt was still higher. Widespread unemployment, with 541,000 people on relief, continued to hang like a cloud over Canadian economy. The Dominion government, dominated by the Liberal party and headed by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, was faced with demands from Alberta wheat farmers who wanted markets and a good price for their crop; from Montreal and Toronto businessmen who complained about taxes and labor unions; from Canadian CIO units which were trying to organize the Ontario gold fields; and from small farmers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick who wanted to know why the government had not kept its promise to reduce tariffs and make it easier for them to sell their produce abroad. Liberals and Conservatives, union organizers and businessmen, French laborers in Quebec, and Saskatchewan farmers—all acted to protect their own interests. But however numerous these interests, disputes, and minor struggles, all problems were considered within the generous framework of the democratic system.

When England declared war on Germany on that bright, first Sunday in September,

(Concluded on page 3)





AT THE HOTEL DESK

GALLOWAY

## • Vocational Outlook •

### Hotel and Restaurant Employees

FOR a number of complex economic reasons, more and more people in this country, are "eating out," and more and more people are climbing into their automobiles and going off on trips. This means more jobs in hotels and restaurants. Some are good jobs with a chance for advancement and good salaries, but the great majority are poorly paid and should be regarded as stopgaps until something better comes along.

Waiters and waitresses as a rule fall into this unskilled and underpaid category. The men in this occupation at one time considerably outnumbered the women, but the trend is now in the other direction, and today 60 per cent of almost 400,000 persons employed in this occupation are women.

It is difficult to say how much waitresses earn, because they are reluctant to divulge the amount of their tips. Employers take tips into consideration, however, and in some cases have even been known to make waitresses pay for their jobs because tipping is so generous.

The most recent surveys show that restaurant waitresses earn (exclusive of tips) an average of seven or eight dollars a week, but this is a deceptive figure. It is doubtful if many waitresses work for less than \$15 in wages and tips. Sometimes their uniforms are given them and often these are laundered without charge. Many restaurants give waitresses two meals a day. The hours girls may work is limited by law in many states.

Most states also have a minimum-age requirement of 18, but there are few other specific qualifications. A high school education is desirable, and a girl's diction, memory, posture, and walk should be good. She should also be neat and well groomed, efficient, and tactful, with a pleasing personality. With these qualities she may soar far above the average in tips, and even raise herself into a better job as hostess or cashier.

The waiter's situation is similar to that of the waitress, although he is better paid and must have more training. He serves

his apprenticeship as a bus boy, making from \$12 to \$18 a week. As a waiter he will make enough to live on. It was recently revealed that in New York two-fifths of the waiters (as compared to one-sixth of the waitresses) made more than \$15 a week, in addition to tips, and whatever they may have received in the way of uniforms, laundry, and meals. Advancement for a waiter consists of becoming a captain of waiters and, finally, the head waiter.

Apart from the managerial positions in hotels and restaurants, the most stable occupations are in the kitchen. There are cooking schools which high school graduates may attend, but the job of cook is usually reached from the bottom. A boy will start at such menial tasks as peeling potatoes and washing dishes at a total wage of not more than \$18 a week, but in a good kitchen this will lead to jobs as sandwich maker, salad cook, roast cook, pastry cook, and finally to the exalted position of chef.

The management of a hotel is a group of specialists. There is always an accountant and an engineer, and home economists who have specialized in food and textiles are needed, the former to handle "the back of the house," or kitchen, and the latter to see to other aspects of housekeeping, such as the linens, carpets, and drapes. Many hotels like clerks to speak either French or Spanish.

## Philadelphia High School Sets Up Model "House of Representatives"

A NUMBER of reports of successful student organizations have come to us. Edward Rudin, a student of Northeast High School, Philadelphia, tells how a club, known as the "House of Representatives," operates in his school:

"The Northeast High School in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, conducts a club after school hours for the students. The club is known as the House of Representatives. Its main purpose is to improve the ability of the students to speak in public. At the same time, the boys learn parliamentary procedure and cultivate an interest in domestic and international affairs.

"The House of Representatives meets for an hour and a half each week during the school term. It is conducted very much like the House of Representatives of our federal government. There is a speaker of the House, a deputy speaker, a treasurer, a clerk, a chaplain, and a Rules Committee. All are students and are elected by the members of the House.

"Rules of parliamentary procedure are closely followed. Whenever the speaker is in doubt about the procedure, he can question the faculty sponsor, Mr. John Wesley Rhoads. Except for this participation, Mr. Rhoads never interferes with the discussions of the students.

"After the usual business consisting of the Bible reading, the roll call, the reading of the minutes, and the treasurer's report, bills concerning national, state, city, or school problems are presented to the House members. These bills are submitted any time during the week by the members of the House of Representatives to the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives. The Rules Committee decides which bills should be discussed and puts those bills on the program for the business of the next meeting.

"At the meeting of the House, the person who presented the bill to the Committee is the first to speak on his bill. He explains the bill and gives his arguments in favor of its passage. Then the bill is put on the floor for debate. The person who proposed the bill is asked many questions about it, and he must defend this bill throughout the lively discussions which follow. Whenever a person wishes, he may ask for a vote on the bill and the debate will be closed.

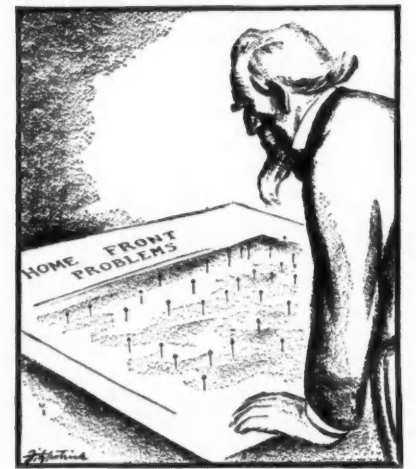
"When all the bills on the program are discussed and voted on, the House usually is resolved into a Committee of the Whole. As such, the members of the House can discuss problems of current interest with

less formality and no vote is taken at the end of the discussion. A great many times, questions asked in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER are discussed as problems of the Committee of the Whole.

"Bills are often proposed for the betterment of the school itself. If those bills are passed by the House they are presented to the Senate of the Northeast High School (the student government body) as suggestions to be acted on. Several of the suggestions made by the House in its years of existence have been accepted by the Senate and have been made laws of the school."

\* \* \*

Miss Grace Hewett, a student of Bay County High School, Panama City, Florida, tells of the work of a student council. It is a democratic organization, the officers being elected by the students. The president is chosen from the senior class, the vice president from the junior class, and

KEEP AN EYE ON THIS MAP  
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

the secretary must be a sophomore. Each home room selects a representative on the council.

The council meets once a week to discuss the problems of the school. It puts out a handbook on the school and its activities, with information of particular value to freshmen, and, in general, deals with problems with which the students are concerned.

### FRANK KERR ESSAY

(Concluded from page 8, column 2)  
and break it until the sum of what is left is measureless. . . .

And so I say, to me "American Democracy" means that I can build my home upon a street where love and brotherhood have hung their welcome sign for me to see, where I may live, and in my living give to other lives the selfsame urge to live.

### MARIE-LOUISE RALPH

(Concluded from page 8, column 4)  
The period had hardly begun, when the harsh clanging of a bell startled the class. Only a fire drill to us; abroad it would signal "air-raid!" In the confusion, a girl dropped her purse, a kind that was slung from the shoulder and reminded me of a gas mask container that wire photos depict people wearing in Paris. Back in the Spanish room after the drill, la senora continued the lesson. It was not easy to imagine her teaching, "All languages are inferior to American. The products of inferior minds, they are not worth learning."

Exactly at three, school was dismissed. As I stepped out into the open air, I heard the roar of a great ship above, flying low. It was beautiful, sleek and huge, with the sun turning its silver wings into glistening needles. I didn't know where the plane was going, but I was confident, whatever its destination, that it was not laden with bombs.

Turning my footsteps homeward, I glanced up—to see the same starry banner, symbol of Democracy, waving in the wind. Thank God—for America!

## Do You Keep Up With the News?

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 7, column 4)

1. Of what federal agency is J. Warren Madden the chairman?
2. The United States is about to sign a treaty with Canada relative to (a) Niagara Falls, (b) the St. Lawrence Seaway, (c) the Erie Canal, (d) Puget Sound.
3. The act authorizing the reciprocal trade agreements, which expires this year, was valid without renewal for \_\_\_\_\_ years.
4. John L. Lewis was successful in persuading his United Mine Workers to oppose the third-term movement. True or false?
5. The German sailors, whom the British seized from a Japanese ship and whose return Japan is now demanding, were part of the crew of (a) the *Graf Spee*, (b) the *Tacoma*, (c) the *Columbus*, (d) the *Bremen*.
6. A bill before Congress would enable the construction of how many new hospitals?
7. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo has donated 24,000 acres for the purpose of sheltering 500 refugee families in \_\_\_\_\_, of which country he was once dictator.
8. The recently discovered "missing link" in television was (a) a device for relaying television waves, (b) an inexpensive receiving set, (c) equipment for televising outdoor objects, (d) a way of preventing television waves from interfering with radio waves.
9. How old was President Roosevelt on his last birthday?
10. And how old is the Supreme Court, which recently had an anniversary?
11. The Emperor of Japan recently competed in the annual Japanese (a) cooking, (b) boxing, (c) poetry, (d) riding contest.
12. Daniel J. Tobin, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, has threatened

to break away from that body with the 350,000 workers over whom he presides. What type of workers are in Tobin's union?

13. A Harvard University professor recently returned after retracing in a small boat the route of what famous explorer?



14. In what section of the country is the wage-hour act being most vigorously opposed?

15. In the present administration there have been how many national labor boards?

16. What foreign nation is undergoing a shortage of electrical power and has ordered industry to curtail its use of power until the spring rains come?

17. Unless denounced in a conference which began on February 2, the \_\_\_\_\_ Entente was to have been extended for another seven years.

18. What Swedish product is vital to German war industries?

19. Gandhi and the viceroy of India have reached a deadlock on India's demands concerning what?

20. For the second time in a month, the S. S. *Manhattan* was recently detained by the British at what port?

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## Canada Undergoes Great Changes As Result of Conflict in Europe

(Concluded from page 1, column 4)

domestic issues were pushed into the background. A mistrust of British motives prevalent among many Canadians (particularly after Hitler humiliated the British Empire at Munich) seemed to dissolve in the growing fear of Germany. Parliament convened on September 9, only to be confronted with a bulky file of emergency laws (secretly unearthed by the prime minister's researchers) which placed sweeping powers in the hands of the prime minister and his cabinet, leaving Parliament with little to do other than to confirm the declaration of war, vote funds to prosecute it, and go home.

### Canada Acts

Armed with these special emergency powers, the government at once set about transforming the Dominion into a nation at war. Heavy taxes were laid on internal revenue and on imports in anticipation of a \$156,000,000 deficit in the national budget. Control over nearly all phases of economic life was rapidly centralized. One board was established to control foreign trade and to take over all foreign stocks and bonds owned by Canadians. Another was established to control shipping, still another to supervise the mobilization of Canadian war supplies. Wheat, the export of metals, prices, and so on, all came under the control of government regulatory bodies. Within a month Canada had concentrated her economic control to a greater degree than she had succeeded in doing in three years during the last war.

For several months the effects of this economic change were not strikingly apparent. Then Canadians began to notice that prices were rising. Food costs rose 10 per cent, fuel and clothing costs increased five per cent, and gas and electricity eight per cent. Coffee selling for 25 cents a pound in the United States cost more than twice as much in the Dominion. If the Canadian trade and price board was doing anything to peg prices at a normal level, it was having a hard time. In the meantime, while prices and taxes continued to rise, wages remained virtually stationary. Some people managed to increase their income by working longer hours, it is true. But hourly wages did not rise and the fact that the unemployment situation was not eased is proved by failure of the number of people on relief to drop more than three per cent from September to December.

Throughout Canada people were beginning to learn that the war was not what they had thought it was going to be. Wheat farmers, who had expected prices to soar and the profits to roll in, found their hopes dashed by Europe's bumper crop of the year, and by the cautious buying policies of the Allies. Businessmen were disappointed when huge orders at high prices failed to materialize. Once again, Allied purchasing agents were giving out contracts cautiously, and only after hard bargaining. There would be no enormous profits comparable to those of 1914-1918. Thou-

sands of young men who streamed into the cities to enlist found the army had no use for them, and they were left to shift for themselves. Canada had sent half a million men overseas during the World War, but she had no intention of doing so again. Not right away. The Allies had all the men they needed at the time, and more troops simply meant more mouths to feed. To Canada each extra soldier meant \$1.30 extra each day in wages, plus his keep and pension arrangements for his dependents, and the government was not willing to increase the army beyond the limit of 65,000 men. Thus thousands of unemployed young men who thought the war might bring them a chance in life found their prospects little better than before Canada entered the war.

### Civil Liberties

At the same time, the Canadian people were learning that their long-enjoyed civil liberties could no longer be taken for granted. The government's censor board imposed its authority not only on newspapers, magazines, and radio broadcasts, but upon private mails, and even private conversations as well. Many Canadians found the strict censorship more annoying than efficient, for they could easily tune in on American stations, or read American newspapers to find news banned by the Canadian government, in the domestic press and radio.

To enforce the prohibitions it had decreed, the government assumed striking powers. The old right of *habeas corpus* and trial, almost sacred under English law, was set aside as the government claimed (but, it should be noted, did not use) the right to arrest a citizen believed to have infringed the Canadian defense regulations, and to hold him in "protective custody" without trial. So far, these rigid codes have been more grim on paper than in reality. In many parts of Canada, actual enforcement has been very lax. But where regulations against criticizing the war, or the "King's uniform" (as the army, navy, and all associated with them are called), are enforced, officials have been charged with discriminating against certain minority groups.

### Political Opposition

There has been open political opposition, of course, and its very existence proves that democracy still survives in Canada. But political opponents of the government have not criticized Canada's participation in the war, but the manner in which the government is prosecuting the war. The first attack came last November from Maurice Duplessis, the premier of Quebec. Duplessis claimed that the Dominion government planned to introduce military conscription. At the time, Mackenzie King had made no such move; in fact, he had promised not to introduce military conscription, but Duplessis decided to make an issue of it, and called upon the people of Quebec (most of whom are of French



QUEBEC

PAUL'S PHOTO

Canada may be at war, but the people still find time to enjoy a favorite Canadian pastime—winter sports.

descent) to rally behind him in a special provincial election. He was defeated, to the surprise of many observers, and replaced by a supporter of the prime minister and his policies.

Today the brunt of the political opposition comes from the Conservative party, which has made good use of the many opportunities to attack the government's methods. The Conservatives (with some Liberal party support) have charged that the army has been poorly sheltered in drafty barracks, badly clothed, and inadequately equipped. They have charged the government with unnecessary meddling with the average citizen's civil rights, and with bungling official press reports of troop departures, and so on. In order to counteract these attacks, the prime minister recently summoned Parliament, prevailed upon the governor general to dissolve it before Conservative leaders had a chance to launch their attack (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER for February 5), and moved the coming national elections from early summer up to March 26. In justifying his position, the prime minister asserted that a government enjoying the full confidence of the people must be established by vote before any great spring offensives might be launched in Europe. The Conservatives have claimed in reply that King really intends to establish a sort of dictatorship, and that he wishes to run off the elections before his opponents can adequately prepare for them.

Many observers are convinced that no important issues will be settled in the coming elections, however. Whether the Liberal party or the Conservative party wins will probably have little effect upon Canada's part in the war. The two parties are not far apart on important domestic issues, and they are in general agreement on the larger war policies.

### Role in War

Both parties visualize Canada's position in the present conflict as a vast food and mineral reservoir, arsenal, and training ground for the Allies, rather than as a source of another great expeditionary force. Canada's need at present is not for soldiers, but for metallurgists, mining engineers, and technical experts of all sorts to develop her mineral and agricultural resources in the interests of the Allies. These resources are considerable. Already Canada produces 93 per cent of the world's nickel, 11 per cent of its lead, 10 per cent of its copper, 12 per cent of its zinc, 9 per cent of its refined aluminum, and 10 per cent of its gold. Today Canada has close to half a billion bushels of wheat above her own needs stored for future export.

The output of Canadian industry—particularly of aircraft—has been exaggerated somewhat in current press reports. British purchasing missions in the Dominion have discovered that a great deal of British financial aid will be necessary before Canada is developed to the point where she can meet the needs of the Allies in the field of industry. In the meantime, work is in progress building and enlarging large airdromes and landing fields in all parts of Canada as a training ground for members of the Royal Air Force. British air recruits are to be sent to Canada, after finishing their initial ground courses, and given their advanced training in the Dominion. In this way also, the British can build up a large air reserve at a safe distance from the bombs of any German plane yet constructed. Canada's own air force is small, and the number of trained Canadian war pilots is limited. But Canada is one of the most advanced countries in the world in the field of civil aeronautics, and chances are good that she will emerge from the coming war with greatly improved facilities. Some Canadians, struck by the fact that the Dominion is the largest and oldest of the British Empire's self-governing units, that it is centrally located, and yet safe from attack, are predicting that Canada will become the center of the entire Empire structure before many years have passed.

### Questions and References

1. What has been the effect of the war on Canadian food prices? Wages? Relief rolls?
2. Why is the Canadian government not anxious to create a large army?
3. How have Canadian civil rights been affected by the war?
4. What are some of the leading metals produced in Canada?
5. To what political party does Prime Minister Mackenzie King belong?
6. Which one of these figures approximates total American investments in Canada—\$400,000,000; \$4,000,000,000; \$40,000,000; \$1,151,640,000?

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PRONUNCIATIONS: Chungking (choong'-king'), Chiang Kai-shek (jee'ong' ki'-shek'), Hankow (han'koe'), Hispanola (his-pan-yoe'-lah), Kialing (kyah'ling'), Pavlov (pahv'loff'), Rafael Leonidas Trujillo (rah-fah-ell' lay-oe-nee'dahs troo-hee'lyoe'), Yangtze (yang'-tsee).



ON THE GASPÉ COAST OF CANADA

GENDREAU





MACHINE AT WORK

The Republican publicity machine is gearing itself to high speed, as it begins preparations for the active stage in the forthcoming political campaign. Above, Franklin Woltman, director of publicity, looks over some display boards at the Republican National Committee's offices in Washington.

## DOMESTIC

### Congress and Economy

President Roosevelt asked Congress early this year to raise nearly \$500,000,000 with new or increased taxes to pay for the heavy costs of national defense. His proposal was not received enthusiastically, because all the representatives and one-third of the senators are running for election this fall; they dislike having to explain new taxes to the voters during a political campaign.

This situation has led Congress to attempt savings by slashing the budget requests which the President sent them in January. Already the House of Representatives has adopted a farm bill providing for expenditures of \$722,000,000—about \$67,000,000 below the President's figure. Before the bill reached the final vote, it had been cut as much as \$150,000,000, but part of this was restored as the members learned of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace's description of the farmers' needs. The bill must be passed by the Senate before it is final.

No one can predict whether the mood for economy which seems to exist in Congress will result in a large-scale reduction of budget estimates. Observers recall past sessions during which the senators and representatives have talked about cutting down appropriations, and have later voted for large expenditures. It appears probable, however, that each appropriation bill will be debated severely. Congress is prodded this time by the fact that there is a statutory limit of \$45,000,000,000 on the national debt, and that this level is not far off.

### Party Plans

Chicago, the scene of Franklin D. Roosevelt's nomination for president, in 1932, will again entertain the Democratic party convention this summer. James A. Farley, chairman of the National Committee, must decide when the convention will be held. The Democrats are determined to meet after the Republican convention. Both parties have been maneuvering for the strategic advantage of meeting last, and the Democrats are prepared to outwait their rivals, even if it means postponing their convention until late summer.

Plans for the Republican convention are being made this month by Chairman John Hamilton and his National Committee. They have received a number of invitations from cities which want to entertain the Republicans.

Meanwhile, the men who hope to be in the spotlight at these conventions—the candidates for each party's presidential nomination—are watching the approaching dates for the presidential primaries. Both Republicans and Democrats will go to the polls in Illinois on April 9 to choose and instruct the delegates to the national conventions. The Democrats have taken the necessary steps to put President Roosevelt's name on their party ballot—an action which brought "no comment" from the President. The Democratic state commit-

tee of Pennsylvania endorsed the President for a third term, and their approval will likely be tested when the primaries are held in that state on April 23.

### Labor vs. Government

#### (1) The AFL

The American Federation of Labor, which thus far has organized only comparatively skilled workers and which controls the labor supply in a number of fields, is growing increasingly alarmed by the administration's policy of enforcing the antitrust laws with regard to unions. It holds that labor is not conspiring in the restraint of trade when it uses its numbers to benefit the workers it represents or to fight off the threat of the CIO. Yet only three weeks ago, Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, was indicted on such charges, and the New Deal's "trust-buster," Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, is pressing antitrust suits in other fields.

Government competition in building is another sore point with the AFL, whose president, William Green, recently demanded the government to turn construction over to private industry. In doing its own building, the government employs relief labor and increases the unemployment among union men in the building trades, it is charged. At the same time, the AFL is endeavoring to quash the government's investigation of the building trades. The Department of Justice feels that the cost of housing is unnecessarily high and that this is largely due to restrictive practices on the part of contractors and trade unions.

#### (2) The CIO

The most spectacular opposition to the government has come from John L. Lewis, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and on the face of it would appear to be base ingratitude. The administration has admittedly been of great assistance to industrial unionism, but Mr. Lewis resents the President's attempts to make a peace



HARRIS AND EWING

Mrs. Roosevelt recently conducted firsthand investigations of various institutions in the District of Columbia, revealing a great and pressing need for improvement.

# The Week at Home

## What the People of the World

between the CIO and the AFL because he feels that insofar as the craft unions are blocking the progress of his industrial unions, they must be curbed. Speaking for his predominantly unskilled workers, who are suffering more from unemployment than skilled workers, he bitterly criticizes Mr. Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor Perkins for failing to take more concrete action on this problem.

### Television

Television engineers have been trying for a long time to remove the obstacle which prevents broadcasts from being picked up by sets located more than 50 miles from the station. Unless this difficulty could be overcome, the only solution would be to build expensive stations every 50 miles. Radio programs can be broadcast long distances from a studio because the sound waves travel in a curve which follows the earth's surface. But the waves which television sends out travel in a straight line, and after they have gone about 50 miles they are headed out into space.

It now appears that the engineers of the Radio Corporation of America have hit upon



"WHY CONGRESS, WHAT BIG TEETH YOU HAVE!"  
RUSSELL IN LOS ANGELES TIMES

an inexpensive solution. They have developed a system of relay stations—a string of towers spaced at intervals of one every 30 miles. Each tower, with automatic machinery for the task, will pick up the program from the preceding tower and send it along to the next one. The towers are not costly and do not require operators to man them.

### Housing Census

When the census taker knocks at your door in April, he will ask the usual questions about the people living there—number, their ages, occupations, incomes, and education. Unlike census takers in the past, however, he will also inquire about the house itself. He will ask when it was built, whether it is in good condition or in need of repairs, and how many rooms there are. He will request a description of the plumbing, lighting, and heating methods.

Even such details will be sought as who owns the house, whether it is rented, how much is owed on it, what its value is, and how much the taxes are. Census officials emphasize that this information will be safeguarded; that no person's business affairs will be published. But the statistics as a whole, gathered from every farm, village, and city in the nation will be compiled into a valuable survey of housing in this country.

### Greenbelt

Greenbelt, Maryland, is one of the nation's few communities in which consumers' co-operatives own and manage all the stores in town. When the government built Greenbelt in 1937 for families with low incomes, the Consumer Distribution Corporation supplied the money for starting the co-operatives.

Edward A. Filene, the late Boston merchant who gave large sums of money for economic research, established the corporation to help consumers.

With \$50,000 from the corporation, Greenbelt residents opened a grocery store, a drug-store, a gasoline station, a valet shop, a barber shop and beauty parlor, and a motion picture theater. At first the grocery store had a business of \$200 a week; now it takes in \$4,000 a week. The community's motorists spend \$500 a week at the filling station. Today there are 885 families living in Greenbelt. Most of the employed residents work for the



"WONDER WHAT THOSE OLD FOGIES IN CONGRESS WILL DO?"  
HERBLOCK IN HAZELTON (PA.) PLAIN SPEAKER

government in the nation's capital. But since Greenbelt is located between Washington and Baltimore, a good many have jobs in the latter city.

### More Hospitals

President Roosevelt took the occasion of his birthday to propose to Congress a program for building hospitals. The details of his plan are much the same as we reported in these columns early in January, when his intentions were first learned. Senators Wagner of New York and George of Georgia introduced the bill, which provides that the government will appropriate \$10,000,000 for the construction of about 50 hospitals. To obtain a hospital, a community must prove that it needs one, that it will keep the hospital in good condition, and that it will maintain good standards of medical care.

Each hospital will cost around \$150,000. The Federal Works Agency will construct the buildings, and ownership will be retained by the federal government in order that the Public Health Service will have the right to guide the hospitals' administration.

### Income Taxes

Treasury officials are constantly returning money to persons who have paid too much income tax, and at the same time they are collecting from those who fail to pay enough. During the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1939, the internal revenue bureau returned \$50,000,000 to persons who had overpaid. But they also found that other people had not paid enough, and this brought in \$250,000,000 in back income taxes.

For a number of years, the federal government did not tax the salaries of state employees, and the states did not collect income taxes from federal employees. A decision of the United States Supreme Court, however, wiped out this immunity, and last year Congress passed a law which makes it possible for the federal government to tax 2,600,000 state and city employees, who earn over \$3,600,000,000 a year. The 33 states which have income tax laws are free to tax any of the 1,166,000 federal employees who live within their boundaries. The federal payroll is over \$1,860,000,000 a year, not counting the payments for relief.



# Home and Abroad

## Doing, Saying, and Thinking



GOOD NEIGHBOR?  
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

## FOREIGN

### Week in Europe

Representatives from Rumania, Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia were gathered in Belgrade last week for the annual conference of the Balkan Entente. The meeting could not be said to represent all the Balkans because Hungary and Bulgaria, whose territorial demands the Entente had been formed to resist, naturally sent no delegates. Contrary to early impressions, the three-day conference accomplished very little of a positive nature. The four member states agreed to extend the Entente's official neutrality policy for seven years, but they failed to make any provision for the common defense of any one member which might be attacked by another power. Some observers have concluded that with the adjournment of the Entente conference, Rumania has been left in a position as dangerously exposed as previously. Germany has demanded a further extension of her control of Rumanian products, and the situation has not improved.

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As the European war entered its sixth month, strong speeches by Hitler, Daladier, and Chamberlain reflected a determination on both sides to fight the war to the finish, and Germany intensified her air attacks on shipping in British waters with results which are, for the moment, uncertain. The New York Times has estimated losses on both sides during the first five months of fighting to be somewhat as follows:

	Planes	Sub-marines	Warships
Britain	115-225	4	19
France	75-150	0	1
Germany	175-350	15-35	3-4



STRUBE, COURTESY WASHINGTON POST  
MORE BRITONS HAVE BEEN KILLED IN ACCIDENTS IN BLACKOUT AREAS THAN IN THE WAR ZONE

	Killed	Wounded or Missing
Britain	3,500-4,500	1,000
France	2,000-5,000	5,000-15,000
Germany	1,500-7,500	5,000-15,000

These figures do not include Germany's losses in Poland.

### Germany in Poland

Reports of an alarming nature have been coming out of German Poland during the last few months. In view of the countless unfounded atrocity stories in circulation during the World War, there was at first a tendency to discount these reports which dealt with the treatment of conquered Poles by the Germans. But the stories continued. A large number of American newspapers and press bureaus, desiring to check up on the authenticity of the reports, applied repeatedly to the German government for permission to send reporters into the conquered area. They were repeatedly denied that permission, and confirmation or refutation of the reports became impossible in view of the fact that, in the words of the New York Times, "The shades have been drawn tight at every window looking into Poland."

When the Vatican published a report by Polish Cardinal Hlond confirming these stories, recently, it created a sensation. The Vatican report, broadcast in several languages from the Vatican radio station, told of a systematic campaign to drive Poles and Jews from the fertile areas of Poland into the bare, wintry districts south of Warsaw. The report told of sudden raids in the dead of night, of families torn apart, mass executions, of churches closed, religious services curtailed or suppressed altogether. The Vatican charged that the Nazis are attempting to exterminate the entire Polish race, encouraging death by starvation and freezing where rifles are not employed. The German government has lodged a protest with the Vatican for broadcasting this report, and has denied that atrocities have been perpetrated in Poland. The German rule in conquered Poland, the German government has stated, is "stern but just."

### Britain and the Neutrals

On two recent occasions Winston Churchill, first lord of the British admiralty, has called upon neutral countries to support England in her war on Germany. Great Britain, he has said, is fighting for their rights as well as her own, and she deserves their support. Most neutral states have greeted these pleas coldly. Belgium and the Netherlands have regarded them with suspicion. Scandinavian mistrust is even more open in view of the fact that Churchill once expressed the wish that the Allies had attacked Germany through Scandinavia during the World War. Such an attack, if successful today, would bring Allied sea and land forces down into north Germany from Denmark or Sweden, or both, menacing



ROBERTS, FROM EUROPEAN

A BAZAAR, NOT FAR FROM THE BUSINESS CENTER OF BELGRADE  
Yugoslavia, occupying a strategic position on the Adriatic Sea, and with frontiers touching those of Italy, Germany, and Rumania, is one of the key countries of the Balkans. The recent Balkan conference was held in Belgrade, the capital.

the large cities of Hamburg and Berlin, and cutting Germany's Baltic Sea lanes. Such a move would also involve Scandinavia in the war. Some believe England intends to use Russia's invasion of Finland as an excuse for such strategy. The Scandinavian governments have made it known that they will not permit the Allies to use their territory as a base for an attack on Germany.

### Power Holiday

Five times during the last five months Japanese industries have been forced to curtail production because of a shortage of electric power. These power shortages have been caused by a lack of coal, which, in turn, cannot be procured because Japan's mobilization of a large army in China has robbed the home industries of needed skilled workers, and because the two great wars have combined to bring about a scarcity of ships available to carry coal to Japan.

Until recently the power shortages affected



WIDE WORLD

FRENCH "BLUE-DEVILS"  
French Chasseurs climbing a trail in the French mountain region near the frontier during recent scouting duty.

only industries manufacturing goods not needed in carrying on the war. The latest shortage, however, is by far the most serious of all. It has forced the government to step in to forbid many industries to use any more than a fraction of their actual power needs. Not only have streetcars, movie houses, and peacetime industries been curtailed, but the great war industrial region around Osaka has been darkened, and greatly reduced production schedules have been forced even upon machine shops, aluminum smelters, and electric blast furnaces. Shiploads of coal are being rushed from India and Canada, but it is considered unlikely that the power shortage can be remedied in full before May 1.

### Dominican Refuge

The Dominican Republic, which shares with the Republic of Haiti the island of Hispaniola in the eastern Caribbean, has recently donated 24,000 acres of land to 500 families of refugees from Germany and Poland. The contract, which was signed in the presence of American, British, and Belgian members of the Inter-Government Committee on Refu-

gees, is the first tangible result of an offer made by the Dominican government about a year ago. Although experts have estimated that the Dominican Republic cannot absorb more than 25,000 refugees for some years, the government hopes eventually to settle 100,000 Europeans, Jews, and non-Jews, upon its fertile but undeveloped soil. An increase in the European population of the little republic might help to develop resources in the hinterland which have so far gone untouched. Today, for example, the Dominicans engage chiefly in stock raising and agriculture, producing sugar, rice, cacao, corn, and tobacco, whereas, given the stimulus of new capital and technicians, they might develop their deposits of silver, salt, coal, iron, and platinum to their own financial advantage.

The 1,545,000 people of the Dominican Republic (who represent various mixtures of European, Indian, and some African blood) are ruled by a unique form of government. Theoretically it is republican, consisting of a congress and a president. But sharing the powers of the chief executive is a "Benefactor," General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, who, until 1938, was president and dictator of the country. Trujillo's friends regard him as a great administrator, his enemies—as an extremely ruthless politician. Whether his powers have been relaxed since he became "Benefactor" is a question. There is no general agreement on the actual strength of his influence.

### Chinese Capital

When Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek moved his temporary capital from Hankow to Chungking, in the early autumn of 1938, the latter town was nothing more than a small river port tucked away in the deep gorges and mountain ranges of China's great hinterland. Today, however, it is an extremely busy place. Its former population of several hundred thousand inhabitants has been tripled, and the city is crowded with Chinese army officers, government officials, engineers, technicians, foreign advisers and representatives, refugees, and university students. Dispatch bearers, and traveling men from all parts are pouring into and out of the city in a constant stream.

Chungking is built on a high, rocky peninsula at the point where the Yangtze River is joined by the Kialing. From a distance it looks like a huge staircase rising from the river's edge and losing itself in the mountain ranges that tower beyond it. It is a typical Chinese city, with narrow streets in which government automobiles seem oddly out of place; with frail houses of bamboo and mud, and gesticulating coolies who thread their way through alleys bearing the old sedan chairs of local notables. For all its color, Chungking is not a very pleasant place to live. It is hot, muggy, and dusty, in the summer, and cold in the winter. It is a particularly noisy place these days, not only because of the crowds of people, but because of incessant rock blasting to make way for new buildings and roads, and because of occasional Japanese bombing raids which take place over the city.





DESTRUCTION OF THE UNION DEPOT AND HOTEL AT PITTSBURGH IN THE RAILROAD STRIKES OF 1877

## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### U. S. Labor Relations, Past and Present

THE passage of the National Labor Relations Act marked a sharp departure in the history of American labor. Of that fact there can be no doubt. Even the most vocal opponents of the so-called Wagner Act in its present form admit the revolutionary character of the law. For when Congress passed this act and the President signed it, the power of the federal government was placed squarely behind workers in their drive to form unions and bargain collectively with their employers.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

In a sense, the law placed the federal government in the role of a union organizer, for it guaranteed to workers the right to join unions without fear of their employers. It is true that the National Labor Relations Act and the board which carries out its provisions have been bitterly criticized and that there is a strong movement for amendments. But that is a question which is discussed elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. The point with which we are concerned here is the departure which the law made with past practices in this country.

#### Past Labor Policies

Throughout the greater part of American history, workers have had little protection in their attempt to improve their lot by means of organization. True, there has been nothing to prevent them from joining unions and the labor unions have made considerable headway. But the means were numerous by which employers could fight trade unionism. In only a few instances was the power of the federal government used on behalf of the workers. One of these examples was the creation of the War Labor Board in 1918, which attempted to guarantee to workers the right to organize and bargain collectively with their employers.

As we examine the history of American labor relations, we find that many features of the law actually protected employers in their attempts to prevent unionization. They could compel workers to sign agreements promising not to join labor unions. They could form associations with other employers and, in the courts, compel the other members to refrain from hiring union members. They could lock out workers who belonged to unions. They could hire strike-breakers and pay deputies for breaking up strikes. They could sponsor and dominate unions themselves and thus prevent their workers from joining independent labor unions. All these things—and many more

—employers could do in order to fight the labor movement.

#### Use of Propaganda

Another weapon used by employers in the past to defeat the labor movement was propaganda. Certain of the aspects of the propaganda campaign are touched upon by Professor Robert R. R. Brooks in his recent book, "Unions of Their Own Choosing":

Throughout the last 30 years, publicity bureaus, subsidized speakers, pamphlets, press releases, and whispering campaigns have been maintained to spread the word that union leaders draw huge salaries, charge exorbitant dues, and squander the union's funds; that unions are rackets which extort tribute from the workers, the public, and the employers; that unions are anarchistic, syndicalistic; Bolshevik, Communist, Fascistic, and un-American; that unions are lawbreaking, subversive, irresponsible, terroristic, and violent. This exercise of social power has been very expensive but may have been worth the money for the time being, from an anti-union point of view. It has been carried on both inside and outside the shop.

The history of labor relations in this country is full of other examples of methods used to stifle the organized labor movement. The employer has frequently used his tremendous economic power for anti-union purposes. He has often discriminated against the union member, to discharge him if necessary, and to make it practically impossible for him to find a job with another company.

There are cases of the use of more subtle methods. Welfare schemes, such as group insurance, have been inaugurated in the effort to discourage workers from joining unions. Espionage systems are not unknown in the history of labor relations. Not infrequently, employers have sponsored vigilante committees and have organized back-to-work movements in order to break strikes and suppress union activities.

Many critics of the present policy of the federal government argue that the National Labor Relations Act has gone too far in the opposite direction; that it is unfair toward employers; that it permits unions to engage in activities which are excessive and abusive. These critics contend that workers should be given the right to organize and bargain collectively with their employers and that employers should be prevented from standing in the way of these legitimate objectives. But they argue that the present law goes beyond that; it enables unions to engage in practices not dissimilar from those so severely criticized in a minority of employers. If smooth labor relations are to be established in the United States, it is argued, the same curbs and restraints—and the same protective guarantees—should be extended to both employer and employee.

## Personalities in the News

THE governor general of Canada does not have an easy job. He represents the British Crown in Ottawa. He may not grant interviews to the press, and he can take no part in Canadian politics other than to confer from time to time with the prime minister and the cabinet. Whatever advice he may have to offer in the name of the King, he must offer with tact and discretion. Yet he must be a man of sufficient stature to inspire respect.

Canada has had many distinguished governor generals, but few have been more popular than **Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield** (also known as John Buchan) who has occupied that office since 1935. He is a Scotchman of medium height whose broad forehead and aquiline nose, tapering to a narrow mouth, reflect a severity which is apt to be misleading. Among the British statesmen, only Winston Churchill seems to have led such a versatile life.

John Buchan was born in Scotland, in 1875, the son of a Presbyterian minister. At the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford he distinguished himself as a poet, a historian, and a debater. Although he considered writing merely as a diversion and as a way of making a little extra money, he began at an early age to write books. All in all, he has produced about 40 volumes, ranging from such popular mystery stories as "The Thirty-Nine Steps" and the "Green Mantle" to history, biography, verse, and such odd bits as "The Taxation of Foreign Income" and "Eighteenth Century By-Ways."

Buchan's official and business career was not allowed to lapse because of his writings. In 1901 he was admitted to the bar, and



LORD TWEEDSMUIR

then appointed secretary to the British commissioner in South Africa (where he went after big game on the side and picked up material for his books). Returning to England, he associated himself with a publishing firm, finally joining the British army in France during the World War. In 1917 he was recalled to London and became an intelligence officer, eventually rising to the position of director of information. From the close of the war until 1935 he served in Parliament, as high commissioner of the Church of Scotland, and associated himself in various ways with universities, churches, and with historical societies. In the year 1935 he was doubly honored with an appointment to his present post, and with the title which he now bears.

Lord Tweedsmuir has been a particularly earnest, discreet governor general. He has gone to great lengths to acquaint himself with Canada, having traveled throughout the Dominion as far north as the Arctic delta of the Mackenzie River. At the age of 65 he is still an active man, at home on skis and in the high mountains, and he may often be seen striding along the banks of the Ottawa River accompanied by his two dogs. On his way to and from work, and during odd pauses, he thinks out a chapter for his current book, and writes it down rapidly when he gets a chance. He has never forgotten Scotland, and loves to return for a month or two each year.

IN August 1935, the President appointed a lawyer named **J. Warren Madden** to head the administration's third national labor board. The first had died with the NRA; the second, set up by executive order, had not been successful. On Mr. Madden fell the enormous task of carrying out the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, which had been passed a month before.

Mr. Madden was without New Deal connections or previous political experience, but he was armed with other weapons for the battle which lay ahead. He was a brilliant jurist. Born on a farm in Damascus, Illinois, he attended a state normal school and by teaching in his spare time he financed the rest of his education. He finished his undergraduate work and the University of Chicago made him a Doctor of Jurisprudence at the age of 24. The next year he was teaching law, and when he was only 31 he was made dean of the law school of the University of West Virginia. He transferred to the University of Pittsburgh seven years later and it was there that he made his reputation.

It was not the sort of reputation that makes newspaper headlines; it was the quiet respect of his profession which he won by two outstanding books on the law of domestic relations. Still unknown to the general public, he was appointed in 1934 by the governor of Pennsylvania to a commission investigating special policing in industry. Here Madden had his first experience with labor problems as he studied the practices of big industrial concerns which hired private detectives to spy upon their workers and prevent union activities. His conduct in this investigation brought him to the attention of the American Federation of Labor, which is reported to have told the President that it would look favorably on Madden's appointment to the new labor board.

At first the National Labor Relations Board's work was hampered by charges that it was unconstitutional, but finally the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation case went to the Supreme Court. No counsel for the Board argued this case. Madden himself, tall, modest, letter-perfect in the law, pleaded the government's case, and the Court upheld the Board, as it has in 72 per cent of all the cases involving the Board which it has since reviewed. Madden has had a harder fight in winning the public's approval, for certain sections of business, the press, and even the legal profession have been vigorously opposed to the Wagner Act. Much of this opposition, he claims, results from ignorance of the law. The NLRB is not a mediation board, he points out, since conciliation is still handled by the Department of Labor. It is an arbitration board, settling disputes once and for all when other means fail. It is designed to prevent any restriction of labor's right to collective bargaining and of other rights of labor as defined in the Wagner Act. Madden reminds business that there is still the Department of Justice to protect it against the illegal activities of unions.



J. WARREN MADDEN



## National Labor Relations Board Gives Rise to Serious Controversy

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

organize their workers into "company unions." Many employers formerly controlled their workers by this device. Sometimes they paid the union dues of the employees instead of an independent labor union. Such an act has become illegal since the passage of the National Labor Relations Act.

### Work of Board

How are the provisions of the law enforced?

There is a National Labor Relations Board, the members of which are appointed by the President. Under this Board, there are 22 regional offices. Each one has its investigators. When a dispute arises, the Board appoints a trial examiner, who conducts an open hearing. If, for example, a worker is dismissed, he may charge that his employer fired him because he belonged to a union or was trying to form one. The employer replies that such is not the case; that the worker was discharged for inefficiency. The examiner listens to the evidence. If he thinks that the employer actually dismissed the man because of his union activities, the evidence is submitted to the national office of the Labor Relations Board. If the Board also feels that the employer has violated the law, it orders him to reinstate the worker. If the employer does not like the decision, he takes the case to a federal court, and this court hands down its decision.



"YOU GAVE HIM THE MOST ICING!"  
ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

How many cases have actually been brought before the Board, and how have they been decided?

Since the Board was set up, nearly 25,000 cases, involving more than five and a half million workers, have been considered. Of these cases, 51 per cent were dropped without a decision through agreement by both parties; 16 per cent were dismissed because the Board did not feel that the employers in these particular cases were denying the workers rights which were theirs under the law; 26 per cent were settled by agreement between the workers and the employers and were then withdrawn; less than seven per cent of the cases have gone against the employers.

Does the law apply to all employers?

No, only to those who engage in interstate commerce. If a business is carried on wholly within a single state, the federal government has no authority over it.

### AFL-CIO Disputes

Does the Board deal with any disputes other than those between employers and workers?

Yes, it must often decide quarrels between the labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and those belonging to the Congress of Industrial Organizations. That is why the Board has come into conflict with these two groups. Both the AFL and the CIO have attacked many of its decisions. Here is the root of the trouble:

When the Board holds elections in industrial plants to determine which union

the majority of workers want to have represent them in their dealings with employers, it can conduct such elections in two ways. One way is to take a vote among all the workers in a factory or in an entire industry. In this case, whichever union receives the majority of ballots wins the right to represent all the workers.

Another way is to hold separate elections among each group of workers who perform similar tasks in the factory or industry. For example, separate elections might be held among the linotype operators, the compositors, the proofreaders, the pressmen, and other special types of workers in a printing plant. The majority of workers in each of these groups could select their own union independently of other groups.

Now the CIO favors the so-called industrial unions—unions which take in all workers in a plant or industry, regardless of the type of work they perform. Naturally, therefore, the CIO wants the Labor Board to hold elections among all the workers and not among special groups. It contends that the labor movement is weakened when each plant or industry is broken up into a number of unions.

The AFL, on the other hand, favors the organization of workers along occupational, or craft, lines, rather than along factory or industrial lines. If there are half a dozen or more groups of workers in a plant, each of which performs a different type of specialized work, and if each of these groups wants to have a separate union of its own, it should be allowed to do so, says the AFL.

It is true that the American Federation of Labor is composed of industrial, as well as craft, unions. But its chief emphasis is upon the craft unions composed of skilled workers, and it is determined to see that these groups are not merged into large industrial unions, such as those which the CIO promotes. If this should happen, it feels, the skilled workers would be at a disadvantage, because there are not nearly so many of them as there are unskilled workers. Furthermore, the AFL thinks that unions which enable workers in the same occupations to work together in a common cause are more effective and less cumbersome than the industrial unions which take in all kinds of workers—skilled and unskilled.

How has the National Labor Relations Board dealt with the dispute between the AFL and the CIO?

It has had a difficult time. Each decision it has made has displeased one side or the other. In some cases, it has held elections among all the workers of a plant or factory, and in others it has allowed the more important craft groups to vote separately.

During the last year for which figures are available, the Board had 112 cases involving the AFL and the CIO. In 69 of them, both organizations agreed upon the manner of holding elections. In the remaining 43 cases, disputes were involved and the Board had to decide them. Of these, the AFL won 16, and the CIO won 19. Each won certain points in seven, and no decision was necessary in the other.

The leaders of the CIO and the AFL are expected to continue their fight to have the law changed so as to benefit the type of union which they favor. If Congress refuses to do anything in this connection, the NLRB will probably continue to make its decisions as it has done in the past.

### Position of Employers

What do employers in general think of the National Labor Relations Act and the way it is administered?

There is a difference of opinion among them, but there are a number of changes which most employers feel should be made in the law. For one thing, they say it should punish workers for their unfair acts in the same manner that it now punishes employers. For example, rival unions rather frequently engage in strikes against each other instead of against employers.

Another form of unfair labor practice which should be punishable under the labor law, employers continue, is the violation of agreements which are made between unions and employers. Still another is the attempt on the part of certain unions to force every worker in a firm or plant to belong to their organization; in other words, the "closed shop."

Labor leaders reply to these arguments as follows: Most unfair labor practices are already covered by state and local laws. Employers are constantly making use of these laws to take action against union activities. Since the state and local governments can usually be counted on to safeguard the rights of employers, there is no need for the federal government to take action in this field.

Many employers feel that the National Labor Relations Board should be turned into a mere investigating body and that the courts should make the actual decisions in labor disputes. Supporters of the Board reply that the courts could not possibly handle all the cases which come up in the labor field and that most judges are not so well equipped to decide disputes of this kind as are labor experts. The value of the Board is shown, its friends say, by the fact that three out of every four cases which come before it are settled by agreement of both parties.

These are the main points involved in the controversy over the National Labor Relations Act. The various issues raised will be thoroughly debated during the coming weeks and months, as Congress considers the many proposed amendments that have been made. We shall report on these debates as they occur.

### Questions and References

1. What are the main duties of the National Labor Relations Board?
2. Disputes involving approximately how many workers have been handled by the Board since its creation?
3. What is the principal grievance of the American Federation of Labor with respect to the Board? of the Congress of Industrial Organizations?



GOSH! EVEN THE STAR BOARDER SEEMS TO BE CHECKING OUT!

TALBURY IN WASHINGTON NEWS

4. What is the principal criticism of the labor law made by employers?

5. Do you favor amendment of the law; if so, how would you amend it?

REFERENCES: (a) Government Strike Insurance for Unions, by R. L. Greenman. *Nation's Business*, February 1939, pp. 4-5. (b) Is the Wagner Act One-sided? by L. Huberman. *The New Republic*, March 1, 1939, pp. 91-93. (c) Federal Agencies Dealing with Labor Relations. *Congressional Digest*, June 1939, p. 167. (d) Labor and National Unity, by W. Hard. *Reader's Digest*, November 1939, pp. 1-9. (e) Blitzkrieg Against the Labor Board, by R. Stone. *The New Republic*, January 22, 1940, pp. 106-107. (f) Wagner Act: An Evaluation, by R. Littler. *The Atlantic*, January 1940, pp. 81-88.

## Answer Keys

### Do You Keep Up With the News?

1. The National Labor Relations Board; 2. (b); 3. three; 4. false; 5. (c); 6. 50; 7. the Dominican Republic; 8. (a); 9. 58; 10. 150 years old; 11. (c); 12. teamsters; 13. Christopher Columbus; 14. the South; 15. three; 16. Japan; 17. Balkan; 18. iron; 19. independence; 20. Gibraltar.

## Smiles

Customer: "Say, that ham I bought yesterday was bad."

Butcher: "How could it be when it was only cured last week?"

Customer: "Must have had a relapse, then."

—CAPPER'S WEEKLY

Nervous Suitor: "Sir, er—that is, I would like to—er—that is, I have been going with your daughter for five years—"

Father: "Well, whaddya want, a pension?"

—PENN PUNCH BOWL

Client: "Has this dog a good pedigree?"

Salesman: "If he could talk he would not speak to either of us."

—ROYAL ARCANUM BULLETIN

"Have you a garage?"

"I don't know. My daughter just went down to get the car out of it."—SELECTED



"THE LINE IS STILL BUSY—SHALL I CALL YOU BACK LATER?"

MORGAN IN BOY'S LIFE

She: "Now that we're engaged, dear, you'll give me a ring, won't you?"

He: "Yes, certainly darling. What's your number?"

—NEW ZEALAND RAILWAYS MAGAZINE

Clerk (reading report of President's speech): "I hope this is true. He says that the battle against the depression is won."

Stenographer: "Let's show that to the boss and perhaps he'll cease firing." —SELECTED

"Why do you want such a big sink?"

"Well," explained the man who was building a new house, "when my wife leaves in the summer, she's generally gone for a month."

—LABOR

Bank Teller: "Sorry, Madam, but your account is already quite a bit overdrawn."

Woman: "Well, suppose it is? Haven't I a right to do what I please with my own account?" —FAMILY CIRCLE

A pedestrian had fallen into a manhole and called for help.

"Dear me," said a man who happened along. "Have you fallen into a manhole?"

"Not at all," was the sarcastic reply. "As you seem interested, I will say that I just happened to be down here and they built the pavement around me." —MONTREAL STAR

Teacher: "When I was your age I could answer any question in arithmetic."

Pupil: "Yes, ma'am, but you had a different teacher." —EDINBURGH DISPATCH

Doctor: "Wait a minute; I didn't tell you to say 'ah.'"

Patient: "I know you didn't. I just caught a glimpse of your new nurse."

—WALL STREET JOURNAL

Butcher: "I can't give you any more credit, Sir. Your bill is bigger than it should be."

Customer: "I know that. Just make it out for what it should be and I'll pay it."

—SELECTED

# Winners in National Essay Contest

Subject: What Does American Democracy Mean to Me?

Frank W. Kerr, Seattle, Washington

First Prize



FORSBERG PHOTO  
FRANK W. KERR

OUR street is a fine kind of street. First of all, on the 27th Avenue corner is Tony's shoe repair. Tony fixes shoes for nearly everyone in our neighborhood. Then next to Tony's is Peterson's. Pete keeps a first-class Smörgasbord where we get nickel pies and cakes after school. Next to Pete's is Mr. Cohen's. He rents the back of his shop to Mrs. Fugiko who does laundry for thirty cents a bundle. Safeway Grocery takes up the rest of the block to 26th. Jay works there. He says maybe he can get me on in the Christmas rush. At the very corner, on the curbing, old Mose has his paper shack. My Dad always buys his evening papers there.

Yes, our street is a fine kind of street. Tony says you won't find one like it anywhere but in American cities. And Tony knows. He's been around. It's not so much the different kinds of people working and living on our street that makes it fine, Tony says. It's more the way they get along together; making little sacrifices for each other; getting their wives and children together in the evening for games and gossip and eating; trusting each other with a brother's trust.

So when I pass down our street I feel proud. You see, it won't be long until I'll be out looking for a place to start my business. I'd like to build on a street as fine as ours. . . .

I'm seventeen. In six months I'll be out of school and on my own. I've always thought of earning my living as something far away, unreal. Now that it's upon me I'm not sure just what to think. But I do know one thing, a thing so big that little everyday qualms and fears of life dissolve and leave me feeling strong and glad: I know that there are streets on which men live, that hold out fine, clean hands and say, "Welcome. Here is life. Share it with us."

As long as there is this to pat me on the back I can go forward with a will to live. And I will make my house on a fine street. . . .

I've read that there are lands where living is not art, but science. The people are machines that turn out life by the pound. The rote that children learn is measured by the pound. When their faces become square and their bodies riveted, they cease their learning and begin production. The woman's task is clear. Her yield is easily measured by the pound. "Wife, make not the mistake of bearing me a weightless child. I need eight pounds to meet my quota." The man's task is also clear. His yield is greater than woman's, though upon the woman's face the stamp of success first shows itself. "Man, let your labor yield ten times one-hundred pounds, else prison bars will keep you in."—"Old woman, yield five and

fifty pounds, else you can have no rest, no peace. . . ."

I have heard of lands like this, where speech is but the archive of the dead who longed for life; where friendship is but the guise of enmity; where young men pass examinations in killing and gain scholarships for honorable work in the field of brotherly hate. I have read these things, yet it is hard to believe that a normal boy can scorn to laugh, can clog the passage through which joy must pass from where the heart should be. . . .

When I first started to think on this subject of Democracy, the day when I passed down our street and looked at what I had not seen before, that day I asked a question as I passed. "Tony," I said, (and to each other one, I said), "Tell me, what does American Democracy mean to you?" And each one gave to me, in different words, the one true answer. From his own heart he said the words that made the earth seem beautiful, the people glad, their God good. And when I'd mulled those words over to myself, pulling—pushing, pounding—tapping, testing each one with my own, I came to see that those two words "American Democracy" formed but a supercilious mask, trying in vain to hide the simple meaning—"live, and let live."

\* \* \* \* \*

I have said that there are places where, in exchange for youth, a boy receives a book of lessons out of which he learns the art of balancing what he will call his life

Marie-Louise Ralph, Washington, D. C.

Second Prize



EDMONSTON PHOTO  
MARIE-LOUISE RALPH

ON the way to my first class this morning, I glanced out of a window. My eyes caught a striped flag, tossed and whipped about its staff in the sharp wind. My heart skipped a beat and a thrill shocked through me. "It's mine!" I said. "All I hold dear, all that makes life joyous and free is safeguarded under this banner!"

Today, especially, I thought about America and how her Democracy is molding my life, about the Peace and the two Thanksgivings here. Today, especially, for the early papers carried headlined accounts of Helsinki's bombing.

Democracy, it seemed to me, begins in the home and community. It has always been operating about me through my family, our neighbors, and our friends. But I have experienced most of my actual contact with working Democracy in the school community.

The ringing of the first-period bell ended my meditations. I headed for English class where we are studying "Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies" by Britain's great eighteenth century statesman, Edmund Burke. After we had reviewed the day's lesson, a student asked if the colonists were not as responsible for the American Revolution as the English. "Wasn't there a certain American group unwilling to conciliate with England, and wasn't it largely responsible for the conflict?" he wanted to know. A lengthy discussion followed. Suddenly it came over me how privileged I was to be able to lay the cause of our War for Independence on my

that suggested, that praised. For how long, I wonder, would our paper voice student opinion if the press were muzzled?

World Problems class opened with a bang. In studying the causes of the present European conflict, the relative merits of the "isms" were discussed. A classmate of Irish extraction exposed the "good points" of Communism. To our surprise, a Jewish student defended the position of the average German under Naziism, even disclosing "good features" of National Socialism. I pointed out the ways in which Italy has improved under Fascism. At the time, this discussion seemed a matter of course. But looking back upon it, I am impressed. While students in Europe and Asia are regimented and drilled in the maxims of their states, the United States allows its youth to discuss openly and fearlessly forms of government which are directly opposed to American doctrines. All three of us who discussed the "isms" were outspoken in our support of American Democracy. We agreed that IT guarantees us more freedom in the pursuit of happiness than any other type of government. And in our diversity—in religion, background, and opinions—there was unity. This is proof of the respect Democracy accords the sanctity of the individual personality, the right of every American to formulate his own beliefs, to express them, and to retain or discard them.

When the noon bell sounded, I was hungry. Fortunately, my lunch bag contained two well-buttered sandwiches with generous slices of ham, a piece of cake so rich in egg yolks that it was a brilliant yellow, and an apple. I bought a glass of milk from the counter. Across the table, a friend was reciting her current event topic—on food rationing in Berlin.

In my next class, Oral English, girls and boys delivered five-minute talks on subjects that especially interested them. Here were we, delving into conditions that other nations strive to keep from their citizens! Students explained the problems of boss government, of tenant farmers and sharecroppers, of slum clearance, of capital and labor disputes, of our merchant marine, of unemployment. I could not help recalling faces I had seen in the slums of our capital city and in the deep South. "You can't eat liberty; you can't wear it" was written bitterly in their hungry faces. Far from perfection is our Democracy, while such problems exist. But this means that I, and the millions like me, can set for our Democracy a definite goal. It means that America needs the earnest zeal and talent of every one of us in building a finer Democracy in which all will enjoy equal opportunity and justice.

Spanish is the last hour of the day.  
(Concluded on page 2, column 4)

## Essay Contest Winners

The two essays which appear on this page were the first and second prize winners in the recent nation-wide contest conducted by "America's Town Meeting of the Air." Frank W. Kerr, 17-year-old senior of Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington, won the coveted \$500 first prize, which also included a trip to New York to appear on the Town Hall program.

Miss Marie-Louise Ralph, winner of the \$200 second prize, is 17 years old and has just been graduated from Roosevelt High School in the nation's capital. Third-prize honors, with a cash prize of \$100, went to Nobuyuki Nakasone, of Lahainaluna High School, Lahaina, Maui, Hawaii.

Altogether, more than 6,000 essays were submitted, and they were of such quality as to make selection of the winners by the judges very difficult. The Town Hall officials were greatly impressed by this evidence of clear thinking and of public interest on the part of the nation's youth. Following is the list of 20 additional prize winners who received \$10 each.

John Birtwhistle, Dwight Morrow High School, Englewood, New Jersey.  
Myrna Frand, Peabody High School, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Amy Reed, Lowville, New York.  
Eva Kahn, Teachers College High School, Montclair, New Jersey.  
Louise C. Riggs, Washington, D. C.  
Kathleen Carroll, Mulvane, Kansas.  
Anna Louise Wellensiek, Syracuse High School, Syracuse, Nebraska.  
William Hutchison, Central High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma.  
Alice R. Halperin, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, New York.  
Janet Thomas, Lincoln High School, Seattle, Washington.

Agnes Burkhalter, Washington, D. C.  
Robert Harvey Rice, Huntington, West Virginia.  
Frank Jeffries, East High School, Denver, Colorado.  
Betty Wheeler, Central High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma.  
Esther Allen, South Philadelphia High School, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Catherine Slagel, Henry Clay High School, Lexington, Kentucky.  
Geraldine MacPherson, Pontiac High School, Pontiac, Michigan.  
Rosemary Graef, St. Mary's Academy, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.  
Patricia Martin, Plainfield, New Jersey.  
Susan Marquis, Lakewood, Ohio.

upon the tip of his bayonet. I wonder how a boy would face his coming years, if all he'd learned in youth was lore of might and strength and hate of weaker men. I wonder with what heart he'd face a world of steel and blood and caustic words. I wonder how a boy, so young, could take this destiny into his hands and hold it high to marvel and to love.

And when I'd wondered on these things, I realized that any man can live his life when there is love or pride or faith to hearten him. But when the future holds a piece of steel, a dozen bolts out to a man and says, "This is your life. Now make the most of it," then what is man to do but gird himself in bitterness, and in his desperation take into his hands the future of his fellow man, and knot and twist  
(Concluded on page 2, column 4)

forefathers as well as on the nation they fought. Thank God, the teacher did not say, "We are, and always have been a superior race. The Revolution was forced upon us by the merciless enemy who ground us under his heel."

Next period I found myself in the journalism office. I began to plan for the next issue of the school paper. As I am editor, I write editorials and select editorial contributions. On the desk before me were articles of various content. One denounced anti-Semitism; another criticized our government's enormous appropriations for battleships and planes, while schools in Ohio closed for lack of funds; others opposed the school administration policy of holding the senior prom in the school gym. Thumbing through old copies of *The Reporter*, I discovered articles that opposed,